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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO, MBFR

SUBJ: MBFR: DEFINITION OF FORCES

REFS: A) USNATO 3918 DTG 251213Z JUL 75; B) USNATO 4009

- 1. THERE FOLLOWS THE TEXT OF A REVISED WG DRAFT STUDY ON FORCE REDEFINITIONS ARISING FROM THE JULY 29 WG CONSIDERATION OF AN EARLIER VERSION (REF A).
- 2. HE NETHERLANDS REP (VAN HEENSTRA) SAID HIS AUTHORITIES WERE VERY PLEASED WITH THE INITIAL WG DRAFT WITH TWO EXCEPTIONS. THE HAGUE BELI

THERE MUST BE FURTHER ELABORATION ON THE PROBLEMS POSED BY THE FORCE REDEFINITION FOR VERIFICATION AND NON-COMPLIANCE (PARAS 4.C. AND 19,0

OF REF A). HE FURTHER NOTED THAT PARA 4.D. POINTS UP THE IMPORTANCE OF THE EFFECTS OF THIS ISSUE ON ALLIED SECURITY, BUT DOES NOT GO SECRET

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INTO ANY DETAIL ON THESE EFFECTS. IT WAS AGREED TO EXPAND ON BOTH POINTS.

3. THE UK MOD REP (GERAHTY) QUESTIONED THE USE OF "END 1974"

FIGURES IN THE REPORT; THESE HAVE NOT YET BEEN AGREED BY NATO. IT WAS AGREED TO DELETE THESE FIGURES, EXPLAINING THE REASON FOR THE DELETION IN A FOOTNOTE.

4. TH UK MOD REP ALSO BELIEVED THE WG SHOULD STRENGTHEN THE POINT MADE IN PARAS 3 AND 18 OF REF A THAT THERE MIGHT BE AN ADDITIONAL SLICE OF GROUND LOGISTICS SUPPORT PERSONNEL WHOM THE EAST WILL ATTEMPT TO REDEFINE AS AIR FORCE PERSONNEL AT SOME FUTURE TIME. HE SAID UK STUDIES SHOWED THAT UP TO 30,000 OF THESE LOGISTIC PERSONNEL COULD BE INVILVED IN SUPPORTING THE AIR FORCE. THE SHAPE REP (GRIFFIN) POINTED OUT THAT WHILE THE FORCE REDEFINITION STUDY BY THE WG ASSIGNS CERTAIN NUMBERS TO THE THREE REDEFINED CATEGORIES, I.E., AREA AIR DEFENSE, HELICOPTERS AND SSM UNITS, THERE IS NO GUARANTEE THAT THE EAST WILL RESTRICT ITSELF TO THESE SAME NUMBERS IN FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS. HE THUS CAUTIONED AGAINST ACCEPTING ANY REDEFINITION OF THESE THREE CATEGORIES 'IN PRINCIPLE' BEFORE KNOWING WHAT NUMERICAL VALUES THE EAST PLANS TO ASSIGN TO EACH CATEGORY.

5. THE BELGIAN RE (BURNY) SUGGESTED THAT THIS POTENTIAL
PITFALL COULD BE TREATED BY TURNING THE EASTERN PROPOSAL
SLIGHTLY AND SAYING THAT THE COLOR OF THE UNIFORM WOULD BE
THE DECIDING CRITERIA WITH CERTAIN SPECIFIC, QUANTIFIED
EXCEPTIONS MADE ON THE BASIS OF FUNCTION (THE THREE CATEGORIES
PRESENTLY UNDER CONSIDERATION BEING THE ONLY EXCEPTIONS THUS FAR).

6. THE CANADINA REP (BECKETT) THOUGHT THE INCEREASE IN THE COMMON CEILING FROM 700,000 TO 717,000 BASED UPON A STRICT FOLLOWING OF THE RULE OF ONLY A MAXIMUM OF TEN PERCENT REDUCTIONS WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO DEFEND TO THE PUBLIC. THE AGRUMENT WOULD BE THAT "WE THOUGHT 700,000 WOULD BE SUFFICIENT TO DEFEND THE WEST, HOWEVER, WE FOUND WE HAD MORE TROOPS THAN WE THOUGHT AND THEREFORE WE WILL NEED MORE IN THE COMMON CEILING"; HE FOUND THIS ARGUMENT TO BE WEAK. IT WAS AGREED, HOWEVER, THAT UNLESS THE BASIC MADATE ON A MAXIMUM OF TEN PERCENT REDUCTION IS CHANGED, THE WG WILL HAVE TO ABIDE BY SECRET

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THIS FUGURE.

7. COMMENT: THE CANADIAN, FRG AND UK REPS EXPRESSED OPINIONS DURING SESSION THAT THIS PAPER IS CLOSELY RELATED TO THE WG STUDY ON SUB-CEILINGS WITHIN A COMBINED AIR/GROUND COMMON CEILING (REF B). END COMMENT

8. ACTION REQUESTED: REQUEST GUIDANCE PRIOR TO AUGUST 12 WG SESSION.

9. BEGIN TEXT

MBFR: DEFINITION OF GROUND AND AIR FORCES

1. AT THEIR MEETING ON FRIDAY, 18 JULY, 1975, AFTER DISCUSSING A REPORT(1) BY THE AD HOC GROUP VIENNA ON THE COURSE OF MBFR NEGOTIATIONS DURING THE PERIOD MAY 16 TO JULY 17, 1975, INCLUDING THE PROGRESS OF DISCUSSIONS ON A POSSIBLE DEFINITION OF GROUND AND AIR FORCES, THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL INVITED THE MBFR WORKING GROUP TO EXAMINE THE MILITARY/TECHNICAL CONSIDERATIONS OF THE DEFINITION AND TO UPDATE A PREVIOUSREPORT(2) INVOLVING SIMOLAR POSSIBILITIES FOR DEFINITION OF FORCES TO BE ADDRESSED IN MBFR.

BACKGROUND

2. THE WARSAW PACT HAVE PROPOSED, IN VIENNA, A DEFINITION OF GROUND AND AIR FORCES ON THE BASIS THAT ALL FORCES ON EACH SIDE WITH A SIMILAR FUNCTION BE PLACED IN THE SAME CATEGORY, EITHER GROUND OR AIR. THIS WOULD PROVIDE A DEFINITION OF GROUND AND AIR FORCES BASED ON AN ENUMERATION OF FUNCTIONAL TYPES OF FORCES. SPECIFICALLY, THE WARSAW PACT HAVE SUGGESTED THAT:

A. ALL TERRITORIAL (I.E. AREA) AIR DEFENCE PERSONNLE WOULD BE ASSIGNED TO AIR FORCES.

B. ALL HELICOPTER PERSONNEL WOULD BE ASSIGNED TO THE GROUND FORCES, WITH POSSIBLY SOME MINOR SECEPTIONS. ALTERNATIVELY THEY SUGGESTED THAT ALL HELICPOTER PERSONNEL COUND BE COUNTED AS AIR FORCES, BUT THEY DID NOT PURSUE THIS ISSUE.

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FOOTNOTES: (1) AGV(75)025 (2) AC/275-D(74)8

C. ALL TACTIACAL SURFACE-TO-SURFACE MISSILE PERSONNEL WOULD BE ASSIGNED TO THE GROUND FORCES.

3. IT IS FURTHER NOTED THAT THE WARSAW PACT PROPOSALS WOULD ENTAIL INCLUSION IN AIR FORCES OF, INTER ALIA "FORCES OF COMBAT LOGISTICS AND SERVICES OF THE AIR FORCES AND PVO". THERE HAS BEEN NO INDICATIONIN VIENNA THAT THIS DEFINITION MIGHT BE TAKEN, DEPENDING ON INTERPRETATION, TO NECIESSITATE THE TRANSFER OF WP LOGISTIC AND SERVICES PERSONNEL CURRENTLY COUNTED BYNATO AS ARMY PERSONNEL, TO AIR FORCES. NEVERTHELESS, THIS APPROACH MIGHT LATER BE EXPLOITED: AND IS THEREFORE DISCUSSED BELOW.

4. THE MILITARY/TECHNICAL IMPLICATIONS TO BE CONSIDERED ARE:

A. THE CHANGES IN THE NUMBERS OF REDUCTIONS OF GROUND FORCES BY BOTH SIDES.

B. THE IMPACT OF THE CHANGES ON THE COMMON CEILING CONCEPT BEARING IN MIND THAT THE WP MAY REFUSE TO AGREE THE ESTIMATES OF WP MANPOWER ATTRIBUTED TO THEM BY NATO AND INSIST IN THE USE IN NEGOTIATIONS OF LOWER WP MANPOWER FIGURES.

C. ANY FACTORS, DERIVING FROM INPLEMENTATION OF THE CHANGES, BEARING ON ALLIED CONCEPTS OF VERIFICATION AND NON-CIRCUMVENTION.

D. FINALLY, AND MOST IMPORTANTLY, THE EFFECTS ON ALLIED SECURITY.

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UNDER THE PACT DEFINITION A CASE COULD BE MADE FOR INCLUSION IN THE AIR FORCES FOR BOTH NATO AND PACT, OF ALL AREA AIR REFERNCE PERSONNEL, NOT NORMALLY REGARDED AS BEING UNDER THE DIRECT CONTROL OF COMMANDERS OF GROUND FORCE FORMATIONS. IN THAT CASE 13,000 SOVIET PERSONNEL OPERATING OR SUPPORTING SA 2/3 WEAPON SYSTEMS AND 14,000 NATO PERSONNEL MANNING WEAPON SYSTEMS REGARDED AS EQUIVALENT AREA DEFENCE SYSTEMS ON THE NATO SIDE WOULD BE COUNTED AS AIR FORCES. HOWEVER, THE SOVIETS HAVE INDICATED IN VIENNA THAT THIS IS NOT THEIR INTENTION AND THESE PERSONNEL ARE THEREFORE NOT FURTHER ADDRESSED IN THIS PAPER.

REVIEW

5. THE WP DEFINITON AT PARAGRAPH 2 ABOVE, ELABORATED IN SUBSEQUENT DISCUSSION INVIENNA, WOULD INVOLVE:

A. EXCLUSION FROM WP GROUND FORCES TO BE ADDRESSED IN SECRET

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MBFR OF PERSONNEL (42,000) SERVING IN CSSR AND POLISH NATIONAL AREA AIR DEFENCE ORGANISATIONS.

B. INCLUSION IN WP GROUND FORCES TO BE ADDRESSED IN MBFR OF PERSONNLE SERVING IN HELICOPTER UNITS (18,000).

C. INCLUSION IN NATO GROUND FORCES (TO BE ADDRESSED IN MBFR) OF:

- (1) CERTAIN PERSONNEL (2,000) OF BE, FRG, NL AND UK AIR FORCES, SERVING IN HELICOPTER UNITS.
- 2) FRG PERSONNEL OF THE AIR FORCE MANNING SSM (PERSHING) (3,700 ROUNDED TO 4,000).
- 6. THESE POSSIBLE CHANGES, EXCEPT 5C.1() ABOVE WERE DISCUSSED BY THE MBFR WORKING GROUP IN MID-1974, ON THE BASIS OF THE DATA THEN ACCEPTED BY NATO, UNDER CASES 1 AND 4 EXAMINED IN THE WORKING GROUP REPORT OF 17 SEPTEMBER, 1974. THIS NOTE DRAWS ON THAT WORKING GROUP REPORT.

EFFECTS FOR AIR FORCES

7. THE NUMERICAL EFFECT OF THE CAHANGES PROPOSED (PARA 5 ABOCE) BY THE WARSAW PACT FOR AIR FORCES WOULD BE (1):

MID1974

ASSESSMENTS

AC/276-D(75)2 END-1974 FIGURES

WP NATO

A. STRENGTH 208,000 193,000

B. ASSIGN AREA AIR

DEF PERSONNEL TO AIR PLUS42,000(2)

C. ASSIGN HELICOPTER

PERSONNEL TO GRD MINUS18,000(2) MINUS2,000

D. ASSIGN SSM

PERSONNEL TO GRD MINUS4,000 E. RESIDUAL PERSONNEL 232,000 187,000

FOOTNOTES:

(1) IN THE FOLLOWING PARAGRAPHS THE ASSESSED STRENGTH OF PACT SECRET

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GROUND AND AIR FORCE NMANPOWER IS GIVEN FOR MID-74. ALTHOUGH

THERE IS AVAILABLE IN NATO AN AGREED ASSESSMENT OF PACT GROUND AND AIR FORCE MANPOWER TOTALLS AS OF END-1974, THE BREAKDOWN OF THOSE TOTALS IS NOT HET NATO AGREED. THEREFORE TNE END-1974 TOTALS ON PACT FORCES ARE NOT USED IN THIS PAPER. FOR NATO THE LATEST END-1974 NIGURES ARE USED.

(2) THE NUMBERS ARE BASED ON PRESENT NATO ASSESSMENTS. THE NUMBERS COULD CHANGE IF THE PACT WERE TO EXPLOIT THE POINT MADE IN PARA 3 ABOVE. THE DISPARITY BETWEEN THE AIR FORCE PERSONNEL STRENGTHS OF THE TWO SIDES, ON ALLIED ASSESSMENTS, WOULD THUS BE 45,000. IF, HOWEVER, ALL PACT AND NATO HELICOPTER PERSONNEL WERE TO BE ASSIGNED TO AIR, NATO WOULD HAVE 19,000 MORE AIR (EXCLUDING SOME FRENCH BECAUSE THEIR NUMBER IS NOT KNOWN), AND THE PACT 18,000 MORE. THUS NATO WOULD HAVE 206,000 AIR AND THE PACT 250,000 AIR. THE DISPARITY WOULD THEN BE 44,000.

8. ONE ALLIED ARGUMENT FOR NOT ADDRESSING AIR FORCES IN MBFR FOR REDUCTIONS - THAT THEY ARE BROADLY EQUAL IN NUMBERS - WOULD BE ERODED.

EFFECTS FOR GROUND FORCES

9. FOR GROUND FORCES MANPOWER, THE NUMERICAL EFFECT OF THE CHANGES PROPOSED BY THE WARSAW PACT WOULD BE(1):

GROUND FORCES NMANPOWER

END 74 END 74 MID 74

NATO WP NATO WP

A. ASSESSED STRENGTH 777,000 925,000 791,000 937,000

B. ALLOCATE CZ/POL

AREA AIR DEF ERS

TO AIR MINUS42,000(2) MINUS42,000(2)

C. ALLOCATE HELI-

COPTER PERS TO PLUS2,000 PLUS18,000(2) PLUS2,000 PLUS18,000

(2)

GROUND FORCES

D. ALLOCATE TAC SSM

TO GRD FORCES PLUS4,000 PLUS4,000

E. RESIDUAL ASSESSED

STRENGTH OF GRD 783,000 901,000 797,000 913,000

FORCES

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F. ASSESSED DISPARITY

PRE-ADJUSTMENT (AT 148,000 146,000

B-D)

G. DISPARITY POST-

ADJUSTMENT 118,000 116,000

IF ALL PACT AND NATO HELICOPTER PERSONNEL WERE TO BE ASSIGNED TO AIR, NATO WOULD HAVE 19,000 LESS GROUND (EXCLUSIVE SOME FRENCH BEVAUSE THEIR NUMBER IS NOT KNOWN) AND THE PACT

18,000. THUS NAT WOULD HAVE 778,000 GROUND AND THE PACT 895,000 GROUND PERSONNEL. THE DISPARITY WOULD THEN BE 117,000.

FOOTNOTES:

- (1) SEE FOOTNOTE (1) ON PAGE 3
- (2) THE NUMBERS ARE BASED ON PRESENT NATO ASSESSMENTS. THE NUMBERS COULD CHANGE IF THE PACT WERE TO EXPLOIT THE POINT MADE IN PARA 3 ABOVE.

10. THE NET EFFECT WOULD BE TO INCREASE THE ALLIED GROUND MANPOWER COUNT BY 6,000 AND TO REDUCE THE WP GROUND MANPOWER COUNT BY 24,000; THEREBY REDUCING THE DISPARITY BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES BY 30,000. IT WILL BE NOTED (PARA 8 ABOVE) THAT THE DISPARITIES REDUCE THUS:

DATE OF ALLIED ESTIMATE DISPARITIES REDUCE ------ FROM TO
A. NOVEMBER 1973 148,000 118,000
B. END-1974 NATO: MID-1974 PACT 146,000 116,000

11. IF, AS PRESCRIBED IN C-M(73)83(FINAL), ALLIED REDUCTIONS IN GROUND FORCES DO NOT EXCEED 10 PCT. THE INCREASE IN ALLIED REDUCTIONS CONSEQUENT ON THIS REDEFINITION WOULD NOT BE SUBSTANTIAL: APPROXIMATEQY 600. UNDER THAT APPROACH, THE ALLIED REQUIREMENT FOR A COMMON CEILING COULD NOT BE SET BELOW 717,000 FOR GROUND MANPOWER, (I.E. BASED ON A MAXIMUM 10 PERCENT REDUCTION FROM END-74 ALLIED GROUND MANPOWER STRENGTH OF 797,000).

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12. FOR THE WARSAW PACT, THE NUMBER OF GROUND FORCE REDUCTIONS REQUIRED WOULD REDUCE ON TWO COUNTS:

A. BY 24,000, ASSIGNED TO AIR FORCES.

B. BY A FURTHER 17,000, CONSEQUENT ON RAISING OF THE COMMON CEILING OBJECTIVE FROM 700,000.

THE REDUCTIONS REQUIRED OF THE EARSAW PACT WOULD BE:

C. (913,000 - 717,000) EQUAL 196,000

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13. A COMMON CEILING IN GROUND MANPOWER WOULD HAVE BEEN ACHIEVED, AT A LEVEL OF REDUCTIONS (10 PCT.) TOLERABLE TO THE ALLIES IN CONSIDERATION OF THE RECIPROCAL REDUCTIONSM THE WARSAW PACT WOULD REDUCE GROUND MANPOWER ON A RATIO OF APPROVIMATELY 2.5:1. THE EFFECT, PRIMA FACIE, WOULD BE SATISFACTORY FOR THE ALLIANCE. THESE ESTIMATES, HOWEVER, ARE CRITICALLY DEPENDENT ON THE ACCURACY OF ALLIED ESTIMATES OF WARSAW PACT MANPOWER WHICH, THE WORKING GROUP HAS JUDGED, COULD BE SUBJECT TO A MARGIN OF ERROR AS HIGH AS 10 PCT. THE EFFECTS OF MARGINS OF ERROR AT 10 PCT. AND 5 PCT. ARE ILLUSTRATED BELOW, FOR WP REDUCTIONS.

MARGIN MID 74 OF ERROR FIGURES

 $10\ \mathrm{PCT}\ 913,\!000\text{-}(10\ \mathrm{PCT})\ 91,\!000\ \text{-}822,\!000\ \mathrm{COMMON}\ \mathrm{CEILING}\ 105,\!000$

AT 717,000

5 PCT 913,000-(5PCT) 45,500-867,500 COMMON CEILING 150,500

AT 717,000

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14. ASSUMING ALLIED OBJECTIVES FOR PHASE I WERE IMPLEMENTED (INCLUDING WITHDRAWAL OF 29,000 US SOLDIERS AND 68,000 USSR SOLDIERS), REDUCTIONS REQUIRED TO REACH A COMMON CEILING IN PHASE 2 AT 717,000 WOULD BE, USING THE MID-74 ALLIED ESTIMATE OF PACT STRENGTH:

MARGIN OF ERROR

IN ALLIED ESTIMATE FOR THE WP FOR THE ALLIES

A. AT 5 PCT 82,500 51,000 B. AT 10 PCT 37,000 51,000

IMPLICATIONS OF REDEFINITION FOR A COMBINED GROUND"AIR COMMON CEILING

15. A COMBINED GROUND/AIR COMMON CEILING, ADOPTED ON THE BASIS OF THE PROPOSED DEFINITION OF FORCES, COULD BE CALCULATED BY ADDING 187,000 (AIR FORCE MANPOWER) TO 717,000 (MINIMUM ALLIED GROUND MANPOWER AT 10 PCT REDUCTION), I.E. 904,000, I.E. ABOUT 900,000. FOR THE PACT THIS WOULD MEAN, WITH NO REDUCTIONS IN AIR, A GROUND TOTAL OF 668,000.

16. ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT AIR FORCES WILL NOT BE ADDRESSED FOR REDUCTIONS, THE NUMBERS OF GROUND PERSONNEL REDUCTIONS BY THE WP TO REACH A COMBINED COMMON CEILING ACCEPTABLE TO NATO WOULD NOT BE AFFECTED BY REDEFINITION. TIN FACT, THE PACT WOULD HAVE TO REDUCE BY 145,000. HOWEVER, THOSE WP REDUCTIONS WOULD BE TAKEN FROM GROUND FORCES REDUCED BY REDEFINITION, THAT IS 913,000 (SEE PARA 9). TO ACHIEVE A COMBINED GROUND/AIR COMMON CEILING, BECAUSE THE WP AIR MANPOWER AS REDEFINED (232,000) IS HIGHER THAN NATO'S (187,000), THE WP RESIDUAL GROUND FORCES (668,000) WOULD HAVE TO FALL BELOW THE RESIDUAL NATO GROUND FORCE MANPOWER (717,000), BROADLY TO THE EXTENT OF THE DISPARITY (45,000) BETWEEN ALLIED AND PACT AIR FORCE MANPOWER COUNTS.

OTHER EFFECTS OF THE DEFINITION

17. THE CSSR AND POLISH AREA AIR DEFENCE TROOPS, WHO WOULD BE TRANSFERRED TO THE AIR FORCE COUNT UNDER THE WP DEFINITION CONTRIBUTE DIRECTLY TO THE SECURITY OF SOVIET AND OTHER PACT FORCES MOVING FORWARD FROM THE REAR TO THE WEST IN TIMES OF WAR. SECRET

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THEY ALSO WOULD PROTECT AIRFIELDS AND OTHER MILITARY OBJECTS WHICH NATO IN TIMES OF WAR MIGHT WANT TO ATTACK FROM THE AIR. HOWEVER, THEY DO NOT CONTRIBUTE DIRECTLY TO THE GROUND FORCE CONFRONTATION AND, IN PARTICULAR, DO NOT CONTRIBUTE TO THEMOBILE, ARMOURED (TANK) THREAT WHICH THE ALLIES MOST WISH TO REDUCE. THE TRANSFER OF THESE ELEMENTS TO THE AIR FORCE COUNT WOULD NOT ERODE THE ALLIED CONCEPT OF REDUCING THAT CONFRONTATION, CONVERSELY, THE HELICOPTERS AND THEIR OPERATING AND SUPPORT PERSONNEL WHO WOULD BE INCLUDED IN THE WP GROUND FORCES COUNT DO, IN PART, CONTRIBUTE TO THE COMBAT EFFECTIVENESS OF WP GROUND COMBAT FORMATIONS: IF THE WP DEFINITION WERE ACCEPTED, THESE HELICOPTER PERSONNEL WOULD BE INCLUDED IN THE GROUND FORCES TO BE ADDRESSED IN MBFR. AT PRESENT THE ALLIES COUNT THEM AS AIR FORCE PERSONNEL. IN THESE RESPECTS. THE CHANGES IN DEFINITION PROPOSED BY THE WARSAW PACT SHOULD HAVE NO ADVERS MILITARY IMPLICATIONS, IN THEMSELVES, FOR NATO.

18. THE POINT IS MADE (PARA 3 ABOVE) THAT THE WP DEFINITION COULD BE INTERPRETED IN SUCH A WAY THAT THE WP, AND THE USSR IN PARTICULAR, COULD CLAIM THAT A SLICE OF THE INTEGRAGED REAR FORCES OF COMBAT LOGISTICS AND SERVICES COULD BE ASSIGNED TO THE AIR FORCES. THAT SLICE OF COURSE DOES NOT INCLUDE THE COMBAT LOGISTIC AND SERVICE PERSONNEL OF THE PACT AIR FORCES ALREADY COUNTED BY NATO AS AIR (23 PCT. OF THE TOTAL PACT

AIR STRENGTH). IT WOULD INVOLVE OTHER PACT PERSONNEL, PRESENTLY COUNTED BY NATO AS GROUND SUPPORTING BOTH THE PACT ARMY AND AIR FORCE. IF THE PACT WERE TO EXPLOIT THEIR DEFINITION TO COUNT SOME OF THESE PERSONNEL AS AIR, THE NUMBER INVOLVED, AS A PRELIMINARY INTELLIGENCE ESTIMATE OF ONE NATION INDICATES, COULD BE AS HIGH AS 30,000. IN VIEW OF THE LOW MANPOWER TO AIRCRAFT RATIO IN THE PACT AND ESPECIALLY THE SOVIET AIR FORCE, THE MBFR WORKING

GROUP THINK THAT SUCH A NUMBER IS WELL POSSIBLE. MOREOVER, NATO COULD NOT CHALLENGE ANY FIGURE THE PACT WOULD TABLE, BECAUSE THERE IS NO FIRM INTELLIGENCE IN DETAIL AVAILABLE. IT IS TRUE THAT ALSO ON THE NATO SIDE SOME GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL COULD BE RECATEGORISED AS AIR, BECAUSE THEY PROVIDE LOGISTIC SUPPORT TO THE NATO AIR FORCES. HOWEVER, THAT NUMBER COMPARED WITH THE PACT WOULD BE SMALL.

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19. THERE IS, AS SAID IN PARA 3 NO INDICATION THAT THE WP INTEND TO EXPLOIT THIS LOOPHOLE. THE MBFR WORKING GROUP NEVERTHELESS BELIEVES THAT IT COULD BE EXPLOITED AND THAT THIS PROBABLY WOULD ONLY BECOME CLEAR WHEN THE WARSAW PACT TABLES ITS AIR MANPOWER FIGURES ON FORCES OF COMBAT LOGISTIC AND SERVICES FOR THE AIR FORCE, INCLUDING PVOS. THEREFORE, IT WOULD BE IMPORTAINT TO EXCLUDE THIS POSSIBILITY, WHICH IF USED WOULD FURTHER REDUCE THE MANPOWER DESPARITY BETWEEN ALLIED AND PACT GROUND MANPOWER: AND SIMILARLY FURTHER REDUCE THE NUMBER OF GROUND MANPOWER REDUCTIONS REQUIRED BY THE PACT UNDER A

COLLECTIVE GROUND COMMON CEILING.

20. THE MBFR WORKING GROUP BELIEVES THAT A DEFINITION, BASED ON THE UNIFORM PRINCIPLE, REMAINS FOR NATO THE MOST PRACTICAL WAY OF DEFINING FORCES. IT IS COMPREHENSIVE, THE EASIEST TO VERIFY AND PLAYS DOWN THE EQUIPMENT ISSUE. 90 PCT. OF THE FORCES OF BOTH SIDES CAN BE CATEGORIZED IN AN UNDISPUTABLE WAY UNDER THAT DEFINITION. THE REMAINING 10 PCT. COULD BE ACCEPTED AS AN SECRET

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EXCEPTION AND CATEGORISED UNDER A FUNCTIONAL APPROACH. BEFORE ACECEPTING SUCH A RECATEGORISATION NATO WOULD NEED, HOWEVER, TO BE ASSURED BY THE PACT THAT THE ONLY THREE CATEGORIES INVOLVED ARE THE THREE ADDRESSED IN THIS PAPER, AND THAT IN NUMERICAL TERMS THE EFFECTS ARE APPROXIMATELY THE SAME AS CALCULATED BY NATO. ACCEPTANCE OF A DEFINITION, BASED ON AN ENUMERATION OF FUNCTIONAL TYPES OF FORCES, WOULD LEAD TO ACCEPTANCE OF AN OUTCOME WHICH IS UNPREDICTABLE (SEE PARA 18) AND THEREFORE DANGEROUS.

SECURITY IMPLICATIONS

20. IT FOLLOWS FROM THE PRECEEDING PARAGRAPHS THAT IF THE DEFINITION FOR CATEGORISATION OF FORCES OF BOTH SIDES REMAINS TO BE BASED ON THE UNIFORM PRINCIPLE, ALLOWING FOR EXCEPTIONS OF THE THREE ANOMALIES DISCUSSED IN THE PAPER, PROVIDED IN NUMERICAL TERMS THE EFFECTS ARE AS PREDICTED, THE SECURITY IMPLICATIONS FOR NATO ARE TOLERABLE. HOWEVER, THE ARGUMENT THAT AIR FORCE PERSONNEL SHOULD NOT BE REDUCED, BECAUSE THE NUMBERS ON BOTH SIDES ARE EQUAL, IS ERODED AND THE DISPARITY IN GROUND FORCES WILL BE REDUCED BY 30,000.

VERIFICATION

21. THE VERIFICATION EFFECTS OF A REDEFINITION OF FORCES ON THE BASIS UNDER DISCUSSION WERE EXAMINED BY THE WORKING GROUP IN MID-1974(1). THE POSSIBLE EFFECTS COULD BE THAT THE INSPECTION SYSTEM WOULD:

A. ENCOUNTER DIFFICULTIES IN VERIFYING DIRECTLY
THE LEVEL OF STRENGTHS IN THE CSSR AND POLISH NATIONAL AIR
DEFENCE ORGANISATIONS AND THE MAINTENANCE OF THESE LEVELS.

FOOTNOTE: (1) AC/276-D(74)8

B. BE REQUIRED TO EXTEND INSPECTION TO SOVIET HELICOPTER PERSONNEL.

THE NECESSARY TECHNICAL ARRANGEMENTS TO MEET THE CHANGES MENTIONED ABOVE COULD BE MADE, WHEN THE PRECISE REQUIREMENT IS KNOWN AND THE CORM OF AN ACCEPTABLE OVERT INSPECTION SYSTEM SECRET

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IS AGREED.

NON-CIRCUMVENTION

21. THE RECATEGORISATION OF CZECH AND POLISH AREA AIR DEFENCE PERSONNEL FROM GROUND TO AIR WOULD, AS COMPARED WITH THE EXISTING NATO CONCEPT(2) PROVIDE NO ADDITIONAL OPENING FOR CIRCUM-VENTION PROVIDED THAT THOSE FORCES WOULD BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT IN SOME FORCE LIMITATIONOR OTHERFORMULATION. THE RECATEGORISATION OF SOVIET HEKICOPTER PERSONNEL FROM AIR TO GROUND WOULD PROVIDE NO OPENING FOR CIRCUMVENTION OF AN MBFR AGREEMENT.

FOOTNOTE: (2) C-M(73)83(FINAL) END TEXTBRUCE

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